1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

Means by which the Dorobo can acquire stock are: (1) By bridewealth: when a Nandi marries a Dorobo girl, her father gets the normal Nandi payment of one cow, one ox, and a varying number of goats. (When a Dorobo man marries a Nandi girl he has to find somehow the same amount of cattle.) (2) By gift exchange: a Nandi makes friends with a Dorobo, mainly to get honey, and after the first step towards friendship has been taken, the Dorobo gives him some. Later the Nandi gives a goat, and the way is thus paved for the exchange of cattle. This exchange is independent of the honey, which is given by the Dorobo from time to time. This process of acquiring cattle is of course a form of payment, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by a previous exchange of gifts, for the Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is necessary to lead up to the final stage by a preparatory exchange of other things. So far the Nandi have been willing to exchange male stock only in this way; to get cows the Dorobo have had to rely on bridewealth. (3) The Nandi will sell goats for cash, but not (at least up to 1939) cattle. The Dorobo do not seem to want sheep; they had none in 1938, nor when I first knew them in 1937.

Inheritance

The general rule is that when a man dies, his goods are kept by his wife for handing over to his children if they are small, or they pass straight to them if grown up. When a man has neither wife nor children, his heirs are his brothers, his father's brothers' sons, or his mother's brothers' sons. Women do not inherit stock. Land rights in the forest pass to the eldest son, or to a brother, or to one of the relatives termed *mareiher* (see below, p. 62). Weapons are left to a brother, to a *mareiher*, or to a clansman. Dogs are left to sons, or else to a brother or *mareiher*. Goats are divided proportionately between sons, or pass to a brother or *mareiher*. The proportion is roughly as follows, assuming that a man left seven goats and three sons: to eldest son, three; to second son, two; to youngest son, one; to his wife, one, this and its offspring going eventually to the youngest son. The theoretical division of cattle is approximately thus: to eldest son, two; to other sons, one each; to wife, one, which reverts to the youngest son.

Division of Labour

Everything connected with hunting, bees, and weapons is done by men; domestic work by women. The main occupations are divided thus:

Men:	Women:
Making fire.	Building houses.
Hunting.	Collecting vegetable food.
Trapping.	Getting water and firewood.
Putting meat on to cook.	Looking after meat cooking.
Making honey-barrels.	Cooking other food.
Collecting honey.	Milking when there are cows.
Making weapons.	Making baskets.
Trading with the Nandi.	Preparing skins.
Getting coloured earth.	Making clothes, etc.
Cutting wood.	Care of the children.
Making boats.	Sweeping huts.
Preliminary heavy work in the cultural.	Cultivation, all stages.

Children of both sexes help in tending and herding stock; girls help with the house-work and milking, though boys are allowed to milk till they are circumcised. This division is followed strictly with regard to the first nine main activities; but with the last three there is some overlapping; and the essential domestic work and cultivation are often done by men, especially when they are unmarried or live quite alone.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

and (3) *Macuker*, the sons and daughters of both his father's brother and his father's sister. There is thus a sharp distinction between cousins on the father's and the mother's side, and a divergence from the Nandi usage. That the mother's brother's children count as *mama* may be due to Nandi influence, for, as we shall see, the mother's brother is not the relative of importance to the Dorobo that he is to the Nandi. *Kesenda* is a word meaning 'brother, sister' which occurs in other Nandi dialects, though not in Nandi itself, and may possibly be derived from the verb *kesen* 'carry a child', it being one of the duties of a child, especially of a girl, to carry about its small brother or sister.

(woman speaking)

According to feminine terminology, these relatives are grouped in four classes, with a change of term: (1) *Kesenda*, brother and sister; (2) *Apulaiyo*, mother's brother's children; (3) *Macuker*, the children of both father's brother and father's sister; (4) *Eiyo*, the children of mother's sister.

8. The First Descending Generation

(man speaking)

The children of a man and his brothers are all called *apaa*; but the children of his sister and of his mother's brother's children are *mama*, his sister's son having also the alternative term of *weirit ap cepto*, which means 'son of the girl', and is applied in Nandi to father's sister's son who is otherwise called *mama*. The Dorobo grouping which places the sister's children in the mother's brother's category is unusual and there is here a wide divergence from the Nandi rule.

(woman speaking)

A woman calls her children *lakuet*, 'child'; her brother's and sister's children are *aeago*; the children of her mother's brother's children, *akui*; and the children of her mother's sister's children are *eiyo*. The term *aeago* in Nandi means 'sister of a parent', and refers to the father's sister; in Dorobo it is applied to the reciprocal, the brother's son, and is extended to the sister's son. It is also used, as in Nandi, as a term of endearment to small children.

We now return to the children, male and female, of the father's brother's children and of the father's sister's children, all of whom are called *macuker*. According to statements made independently by four different Dorobo elders, a man may marry one of the girls whom he calls *macuker*, that is, his father's sister's daughter's daughter (the daughter of his cross-cousin).

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

224 476 In a settlement or clearing inhabited by several people, meat would be shared in a definite way:

I	Or	II	Or	III
A a man		A a man		A a man
B his father		B his brother		B a clansman
C his brother		C a clansman		C a clansman

A supplies B first, then C if C has no food; but before anybody else is given meat, A must give some to his father or father-in-law if they are within reach. Vegetable food, being accessible to all, is not shared.

462 There is a clear division of essential work between the sexes. Everything connected with hunting, bees, and weapons is done by men; women do the domestic work and other things of that nature. The more important normal occupations are divided thus:

Men:	Women:
1. Making fire.	Building houses.
2. Hunting.	Collecting vegetable food.
3. Trapping.	Getting water and firewood.
4. Putting meat on to cook.	Looking after meat cooking.
5. Making honey-barrels.	Collecting other foods.
6. Collecting honey.	Milking (if cattle are owned).
7. Making weapons.	Making baskets.
8. Exchange with the Nandi.	Preparing skins.
9. Getting coloured earth.	Making clothes, etc.
10. Cutting wood for uses other than firewood and building.	Care of the children.
11. Making fences.	Sweeping huts, etc.
12. Preliminary heavy work in the shamba [1].	Cultivation — all stages.

● [157] Children of both sexes help in weeding and herding livestock; girls help with the housework and milking cows; boys milk till they are circumcised.

In the list above, the sex-division is followed strictly with regard to the first nine items of men's work; in the last three there is a certain amount of overlapping. Of women's work, basket-making, the preparation of skins, and making clothes are strictly confined to women, but the essential household work of preparing and cooking food, sweeping, and cultivation is often done by men, especially when they live alone in the state of monosis; such men get baskets and suchlike from women in exchange for meat and food. House-building, including cutting and carrying the wood and roof-material, is all done by women, unless a man is living alone, or has to build a new hut at a time when his wife is for some reason away; Arap Minin, for instance, had to build a new hut when his wife was ill, and in consequence had to di-

[138]

[1] Swahili for a piece of cultivated ground, and widely used by Europeans.

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433 the absence of pastoral and agricultural techniques and vocabulary, by their myths, and in fact by everything about them. To-day it is true that they are becoming agriculturalists, as the following analysis of their economic activities will show:

		Past:	→	Past:	→	Ideal:
Family	Men:	Trapping game in the forest				
		Making weapons, honey-barrels, etc.		Cultivation of shambas		Stock
		Some: working for wages				
	Women:	Preparing the results of trapping				
		Making baskets, skin clothes, etc.		Cultivation of shambas		
		Housework and food collecting				
	Children:	Weeding				
		Herding				
		Housework				
Men Living Alone:		Trapping				
		Making things				
		Preparing the results of trapping		Cultivation of shambas		Stock
		Cooking, housework				

Dorobo life therefore converges on cultivation, with a hunting background, and stock in view as the ultimate achievement. For though the hunting instinct is still very much alive, and though a great deal of time is now spent on cultivation, there is no doubt that the Dorobo (in 1939 at least) had a livestock economy in their minds as the ultimate goal.

2. Economic Activities

a) Bee-keeping

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi. It is semi-sacred and has a high ritual value, in consequence of which certain rules must be observed lest the supply fail. A person must not eat fruit or blood on the same day that he has eaten honey, though he or she may eat meat. After eating honey, bits of the comb must not be left lying on the ground, but must be hidden in the undergrowth. Arap Minie said, somewhat unconvincingly, that the reason for this was "that other people shall not see them and so be led to your honey-barrel". But this is probably not the true reason, which may be either simply respect to the honey, from a fear that if treated disrespectfully the supply will fail; or else fear of a witch putting a spell on the bees or honey

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

is to get as much as possible of the crop out of the way so that ploughing can start at once without having to wait till the crop is ripe. But the Dorobo had, all the same, made a step forward, for a solid, compact stook is less likely to be devastated by animals than plants standing scattered over a field.

By 25 November, 1938 the Kipukua people had reaped their crops. The shamba here was about an acre in extent, and was divided into four approximately equal-sized plots. There was little maize, for some had been eaten on the field and some had been destroyed by vermin; what was left had been stooked, and anything like an accurate estimate was impossible, though there might have been two or perhaps three bags in the stooks. If we estimate that the equivalent of two bags might have been eaten, and two more destroyed by vermin, we have about 6 or 7 bags, a somewhat high estimate for a crop grown mixed with eleusine, but not impossible[80]. Of eleusine, one plot yielded 3 bags, and another 2 bags (that is 5 bags from half an acre), not a great deal, certainly, but a fair yield under such conditions, and most useful as food, for the Dorobo eat most of their eleusine, and turn very little of it into beer. Maize and eleusine are ground by crushing on slabs of granite (*liteito*), and the resulting meal is made into gruel (*musarek*) for the children, and stiff porridge (*kimiet*) for the older people; it is generally eaten with a mess of vegetable food (*inguek*) prepared separately.

Storage of crops is not yet a very difficult problem. A few of the Dorobo, it is true, have built granaries of Nandi type, hidden just inside the forest to prevent thefts by the Nandi, for anyone can lift up the roof of such a granary in the night. But since so much of the maize is eaten on the field, what is left at harvest time can be stored in the loft; and the same applies to eleusine, for it does not yield a large amount of grain. I saw no millet growing, and the Dorobo said they bought it from the Nandi.

As we have already noted, agricultural labour is divided to a certain extent between the sexes, but the distinction is not very sharp, and it was found to work out in the following way:

Men:	Both:	Women:
Heavy preliminary work	Digging	
Planting	Weeding	Collecting and burning weeds
	Reaping	

The heavy work includes lopping off branches in the Nandi manner, clearing bushes, and breaking up the ground when hard. Women may also plant, but the tendency seems to be for men to do it, though there is no absolute rule against women planting. Children help with the weeding, and herd the goats when there are any; old men herd cattle, and women also sometimes herd goats.

The Dorobo had not by 1939 acquired the Nandi belief that each eleusine crop requires new land, which in the circumstances is just as well; but they do not hesitate to give up using land which is unproductive. Thus,

[80] The bag is the standard 2 ½ lb. gunny bag used in East Africa, holding 200 lbs. of maize.

he found hunting on his area, though he would be liable to pay blood-cattle for homicide. 423 [682]

As for trapping, it is said that nobody steals meat from traps because their bellies would swell to a great size if they ate stolen meat. Public opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean crime, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Nowadays trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught. 224 [685] [626]

Monkeys and buck[1] are killed for their meat and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bow-strings. [237]

2. Agriculture.[2]

The Dorobo are in process of changing from a hunting to an agricultural existence, from the uncertain hunting economy to the more certain one of agriculture; and the same economic pressure which has forced them to till the soil is now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are being slowly and laboriously acquired. This leads in turn to a more self-supporting state, with less dependence on the Nandi for grain crops; and agricultural techniques, both in tillage and stock, are being learnt from the Nandi and from Europeans. 178 [224] [241] [233] [648]

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (*imbaret*), and are helped by children, who weed the crops, herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops grown at present are eleusine (*eleusine coracana*, called *wimbi* in Swahili) and maize; millet and tobacco are still bought from the Nandi, from whom the Dorobo also get eleusine and maize seed when necessary. Unlike the distribution of the forest into hunting areas, people cultivate the ground close to their own homes, and a group 241 [462] [857] [439] 241 423 [351]

[1] The buck killed are:
Kipsekst, blue duiker (cehpalophus aequatorialis). [136]
Mindat, red duiker (c. ignsi-issaci.)
Keremait, bush buck (tragelaphus scriptus.)
Irukutet, reed-buck
Kenyelet, oribi
Kipsomeret, water-buck (cobus ellipsiprymnus).

[2] I prefer the term 'agriculture' to 'horticulture,' for the latter implies mere cultivation, with no livestock, and in East Africa agriculture is almost always practised in conjunction with stock-rearing, even if only on a small scale.